

PEACE NEWS

No. 399 February 4, 1944 2d.

"Europe's Children"

is the title of a book of photographs by Therese Bonney (referred to on this page last week) from which this picture was taken.



PACIFIST CANDIDATE'S ADDRESS TO THE ELECTORS OF KIRKCALDY

For Socialism and a Negotiated Peace

The retirement of Tom Kennedy (after 22 years as Labour MP) which has made the by-election in Kirkcaldy possible, is regretted by all in the constituency, and not least by those who, in 1921 and the following elections, worked for his return to Parliament.

HENRY HILDITCH

was one of these, and he is asking for the support of the electors "so that the work for Socialism may go on." The Peace Pledge Union having decided to support him (though he is not standing as a PPU candidate, but as a Christian-Socialist), we publish here his election address.

Nomination day is Tuesday, and polling day Feb. 17. The Government (Labour) candidate is Mr. T. F. Hubbard, an ex-miner, and a Scottish Nationalist, Mr. Douglas Young, is also in the field. In the 1935 General Election, Mr. Kennedy beat a Conservative by 4,371.

BECAUSE of the war and the political truce, the struggle for the permanent betterment of the worker, his home, and his family has been suspended. The democratic machinery of representative government has practically ceased to function.

It is only on an occasion such as this that an extremely small minority of the country can exercise its right to elect a representative to Parliament: and this small minority is again considerably reduced by a Government which can register and direct young men and women for all sorts of purposes, but which up to the present has failed in its duty to give them the democratic right to vote in an election.

Your responsibility in this constituency is therefore of paramount importance. I urge you to exercise your democratic rights at the poll.

FASCISM CANNOT BE OVERCOME BY WAR

I am opposed to Nazism, dictatorship, and all that denies liberty and freedom and debases human personality; opposed to it not only on the

continent of Europe and elsewhere, but in our own country and Empire. These evils cannot be overcome by the method of war.

The longer the war continues, the greater the accumulation of evidence showing that in the war method, life and liberty, freedom and the human person count for less and less, and

Funds for Hilditch's campaign are urgently needed. Please address them (as well as offers of help for any period of time until polling closes, at 9 p.m. on Feb. 17) to his agent, Donald Port, 71 High St., Kirkcaldy, Fife.

that dictatorship and direction in both work and leisure count for more and more. This now involves not only ourselves, but our children, in both school and factory.

Competition in dictatorship will restore freedom neither to Europe nor to this country.

UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER STRENGTHENS DICTATORSHIP

If we continue the war to "unconditional surrender" and a dictated peace, if in fact all political considerations are subordinated to military

necessity, we shall discover dictatorship more firmly in the saddle throughout Western civilization.

What is likely to happen has already been shown by those placed in positions of power and government in the "liberated" territory: Darlan, Lord Rennell, Badoglio, and the House of Savoy. The lesson has recently been emphasized by the decision of our Government to supply arms to the Fascist Government of Portugal.

All those people are too closely associated with financiers and monopoly capitalists for their policy to serve the interests of the workers. It is for this reason that I advocate the ending of the war as early as possible by the offering of terms which would challenge the peoples of Europe to overthrow their Fascist Governments.

NEGOTIATION NOT SURRENDER

This does not mean the surrender of all that is held dear by those who are working and fighting for democracy. In fact, the longer the war continues the more difficult will it be to obtain a peace within which democracy can be conserved, and the more likely that we shall get a peace embodying all those evils against which we have striven.

I fought in the last war to rid the world of militarism. Today, as a result of following our leaders to the "knock-out blow" and a dictated peace, we have militarism more firmly in control than ever before.

Events have already made it apparent that "unconditional surrender" will lead only to the further strengthening of dictatorship.

DURABLE PEACE CAN COME ONLY THROUGH NEGOTIATION

Do not be misled by the slogan, "You can't trust Hitler." I, with you, don't trust Hitler.

The relevant thing to remember in this connection, is that the guarantee that any treaty will be kept does not depend on the names appended to it, but on the terms of the treaty itself. A dictated peace treaty, believed to be unjust by those compelled to live under it, will not be kept despite all the guarantees exacted for its fulfilment.

If we are prepared to negotiate on terms that would be fair and honourable to the German people, and to give an earnest that we intend to carry out those terms, that would be the best and surest guarantee of such a treaty being kept.

END DOMINATION AND ESTABLISH EQUALITY HERE

I therefore urge:

1. That this country should give a practical demonstration of its belief in democracy by granting to India an immediate opportunity for self-government;
2. That the Churchillian policy of "What we have we hold" should be abandoned for one more in conformity with the ideals of a people desiring freedom for others as well as themselves; and
3. That the problem of unemployment which, within the capitalist system, can only be tackled by means of the "dole" and the "means test", the preparation for war, and war itself, should be dealt with by the regulation of finance and credit, and by eliminating the profit motive from industry.

The only alternatives which Capitalism can provide are: (1) the misery of unemployment during peace; or (2) full employment during the misery of war. Such alternatives must be ended.

I stand for the orderly extinction of the capitalist system. To this end I advocate the

(Continued at foot of col. 1, back page)

SOLID WORK

UNLESS, out of the yet unplumbed depths of man's universal humiliation and degradation by this war, there emerges a new allegiance to a new spiritual principle of ordering the relations of man to man, group to group, class to class, and nation to nation, the humiliation and degradation will move with terrifying speed to fresh catastrophe.

When we look, through the tangle of details, to the essence of the matter, the real and abiding purpose of the Peace News Fund is to ensure that solid and continuous work is done towards clarifying the new spiritual principle and gathering allegiance to it.

This week's contributions include the generous gift by the Woolwich Group of £7, their profits on the sale of Peace News.

Contributions since Jan. 25: £19 8s. 10d. Total to date: £5,141 14s. 9d.

THE EDITOR

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News, Ltd., and address them to the Accountant, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

Brutality — as the Far East Knows it

MR. EDEN'S account of the cruel treatment by the Japanese of British prisoners of war (Hansard, Jan. 28) is more sober and less lurid than his previous account of the behaviour of the Japanese after the capture of Hong-Kong. We are therefore prepared to accept it as substantially true. It is shocking to us. Is it equally shocking to Orientals?

The British Government—let us remember—has just sent Indian women to work underground in the coal mines again. They are not prisoners of war, but fellow-citizens. The British Government, in 1857, made a practice of tying Sepoys to the cannon's mouth and blowing them to pieces.

Is it reasonable to expect the Japanese to accept the strange and now entirely paradoxical Western conventions of warfare, in view of the long record of Western brutality in the Far East? Once again, let us clear our mind of cant.

"The Only Victory"

IN his latest speech Hitler said: "There could be only one victor in this war—either Germany or Russia." Not so, says the Manchester Guardian (Jan. 30).

"The only victory in this war must be for a system of good neighbours and the principle of live and let live. On the history of the last eleven years alone that victory could never fall to or emerge from the Germany of today."

I grant that. But what evidence is there that it will fall to or emerge from Russia? None at all. The Russian attack on tiny Finland was the absolute antithesis of a good-neighbour policy. Almost as bad is the Russian treatment of the Polish issue. The plain fact is that for the peoples immediately involved—Finns, Poles, Estonians, Lithuanians, Latvians—there is nothing to choose between Germany and Russia. Good neighbourliness from either is a barren dream. The Russians, in rejecting the American offer of mediation between them and the Poles, declare that the situation is "not ripe" for such mediation. "Not ripe" is a masterpiece of cynicism.

War's "Morality" Crumbling

IT is impossible—absolutely—to attach moral significance to the war-struggle in the form it has now reached. The morality it inculcates is one which no belligerent nation is

able to manifest without ceasing to be a belligerent: the utter senselessness and evil of total war. On every hand the nihilism implicit in modern war declares itself.

It was not until after the last war that its negation became manifest. This war crumbles to pieces as a moral activity while it is being fought. The difference is momentous. It is the difference between war as negation and war as nihilism. Our refusal to admit this to consciousness will have fearful consequences. Occasionally there is an intermittent gleam of awareness. For example this sentence from an article by Mr. Raymond Mortimer on France (M. Guardian, Jan. 29):

"Englishmen who argue that France is a finished country are also passing sentence on their own country, for the difference between a defeated France and an increasingly victorious England is chiefly accidental." Accidental, not essential; but none the less real. We shall have been defeated, without the mighty experience of defeat.

"National Renaissance" Cant

ANOTHER gleam of awareness is in the mind of a correspondent to the Christian News-Letter (Jan. 26), protesting against the cant of a national renaissance after Dunkirk. The positive side of the "national renaissance" was crushed almost at birth. The position now is not a whit better than that before 1939.

"Civic indifference, a view that to the common people it does not matter who governs the country, was eating its way into the national fibre. If that was true then, it is even more true now. The long-lived National Government and the political truce have bred a generation of 'political illiterates' with no experience whatever of practical political life and responsibility. That in itself is a new and serious thing in this country. The apparent frustration, even under the stimulus of war, of that sense of responsibility and real democratic endeavour which sprang up immediately after the coming into power of the Churchill Government, has been a real disaster."

"The background of common decency, and moral restraint . . . is still there and is sufficiently strong, at any rate among ordinary responsible working-folk, to be made the basis of a real national renaissance. But to imagine that the renaissance has taken place is the most dangerously optimistic fantasy."

I would go further and say that the possibility of positive national renaissance in and through the activity of total war is and was always a chimæra.

Revolutionary Precedent

"STALIN wears diamonds at the Supreme Soviet." This headline in the Daily Mail (Jan. 28) might

seem the epitaph on a buried illusion. The diamonds were those of the Order of Suvorov. But, to be honest, all the revolutions have gone the same way. Remember the account (in White-locke's Memorials, I think) of the magnificent departure of Lord Protector Cromwell for the Irish wars: or the pictures of any group of Napoleon's generals. Stalin is in the true tradition of revolution—of revolution by force of arms, anyway.

What, I wonder, will be the power of the Army in the new Russia? Obviously the attempt is being made to fuse the Party and the Army. For example, the probationary period for

Observer's Commentary

those who apply for Party membership is now reduced, for soldiers, to three months instead of the civilian's year. That suggests that the Army is the tiger which will do the swallowing. And what will the policy of the Army be? Revolutionary precedent—Cromwell, Napoleon—is clear on this point, too: Imperialism.

Personalist Government

THE Argentine has severed relations with Germany. That is a simple and cogent demonstration that the woolly talk which represents dictatorship in a South American State as necessarily Pacifist or Nazi is—just woolly talk. South America has sprouted dictators like mushrooms ever since it broke away from Spain. Dictatorship and Nazism are not synonymous. There are dictators of all kinds in the world today. Find the common denominator, if you can, between the dictatorships of Hitler, Stalin, Vargas, and Salazar. There is none, except that they are called "dictators." The social structure of their countries, the political necessities and opportunities which called them forth are all different.

All that a sober judgment can say is that the present universal tendency to personalist government is a response to the challenge of a situation of political, moral, and economic breakdown which is beyond the capacity of the common man to understand. There is, in such circumstances, a very powerful urge to turn to authority incarnate in one man. Even well-

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4

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All letters on other than editorial matters should be addressed to the Manager

Black Record — In India

ON January 20, Mr. Amery, answering a question by Mr. Sorensen, said:

"There are still no reliable figures, but the Government of India, on the basis of present information, consider that the abnormal mortality due to the famine and to disease in the last five months of 1943 has not exceeded 1,000,000."

One million deaths. One million deaths caused by the failure of the British Government to do its duty and control food prices in India. One million deaths caused by our insistence in forcing a war of "defence" upon an unwilling India. One million horrible deaths—either by sheer starvation, or disease consequent on starvation.

It is a grim item on the charge-sheet against us when Britain comes to the judgment—quite as hard to answer as our indictment of Japanese cruelty to our prisoners. But when our imaginations have tried (of course, in vain) to grapple with these million deaths, we discover that there are more. How many more? A million? The Calcutta correspondent of The Times (Jan. 27) says:

"During the famine many village officials and local authorities ceased making returns of vital statistics. The Bengal Government is now arranging to collect them for the last six months of 1943. When they are obtained they will be compared with the average mortality of corresponding periods of the five previous years, but until this is done nobody is in a position to make more than a wild guess at the famine death-roll."

Nobody—not even Mr. Amery. But Mr. Amery must have known that his guess was a wild one. He must have known that there was no return of statistics on which alone could be based a just estimate of the abnormal mortality of the famine months. Why did he not say honestly that he was in a position only to make a wild guess, and that in a matter of a nature so terrible a wild guess was an immorality which an honest man could not commit?

The Times correspondent has more to tell us. The peasants in the deficit areas, as a result of last year's experiences, are not selling their harvests freely. If "trouble"—blessed euphemism—is to be avoided, the Government must put substantial stocks on the market without delay. It is doubted whether sufficient energy is being shown in the organizing of transport for removing the grain bought in the surplus areas.

"The shortage of labour caused by deaths and the weakened condition of the survivors has delayed harvesting and threshing. Formerly one rupee was paid for one day's work by three labourers; the price today in districts where epidemics were severe is as high as four rupees eight annas."

Wages more than quadrupled. That suggests not a million "abnormal deaths" but a catastrophe in the famine districts of the same order as the Black Death in the Middle Ages. Will we ever be told the truth about it?

Most British boys begin what little they learn about India with the story of the Black Hole of Calcutta. Some two hundred Englishmen were suffocated in an airless dungeon. In revenge—just retribution—for that cruelty, we established our dominion over Bengal. The latest achievement of our civilizing influence is to turn the whole of Bengal into a Black Hole. The souls of two? three? four? millions of deceased men, women, and children are now enjoying the liberty which the British Raj has so effectively and so generously defended for them.

Peace News is open for the expression of all pacifist points of view. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement or PPU connection with the matter advertised.

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JOHN SCANLON devises some

"Very Foreign Affairs"

(which is also the title of a book he once wrote)

I HAVE always wanted to be a statesman. And now my chance has come. I live on an island.

The inhabitants go about their work on the farms. Our one store has been able to supply all the rations. The visitor's cruise has already been filled with oil. With a delay of only a few minutes, whilst the cows were being milked, I had my first supply of milk. From the byre door I could see the Atlantic breakers pounding on the rocks.

Although I have been here the best part of a week, nobody has yet explained to me how we will roll up the Germans on the East and lay them out flat again in the West. In fact, had I remained an ordinary citizen, the whole scene would have seemed like a glimpse of Paradise.

But as a statesman I knew this was all wrong. No island should feel happy. In a flash I knew what was lacking with these people—they have no Foreign Policy. As a statesman I would be failing in my duty unless I provided them with one. Speaking now as a statesman, I can say that never in all history has any island allowed its defences to sink to such a low level. We have been too trusting.

Just picture our position. For reasons of security I cannot name the island, as the villages opposite on the mainland might find out where it is situated. But if you take down a map you will find our island stands in much the same relationship to Kintyre as Britain does to Europe. Across a narrow strip of water are three villages, each within striking distance of our shores. And what is the number of our first line fighter aircraft? Precisely none.

True, the three villages opposite may have none. But dare I, making myself responsible for the safety and well-being of this happy breed, run that grave risk! It may be, as my

opponents say, that these villages opposite have no intention of aggressing. Have we learned nothing from the example of that great island Power—Britain? Must we see our island riven and ravished because in time of peace we neglected to prepare for war? Can any island survive by trusting in God alone? Not at all. We must also keep our powder dry. In the words of a great English statesman: "We must have an air force strong enough to strike terror into the heart of any would-be aggressor."

And now I turn to our sea-borne trade on which our life should depend—but doesn't. The island, I regret to say, is practically self-supporting in food. No great island can survive on that basis. We must have cheap food, and, as every statesman knows, no country can get cheap food unless it gets it from abroad. It matters nothing where it gets it; so long as it is imported, it is bound to be cheap.

Apart from food always being cheaper if it is from abroad, I must have a Navy. And unless my food supply is menaced I can hardly expect the islanders to supply me with a large navy.

Yet there are the unescapable facts. If we want to be a Great Island Power—like Britain, or Japan—we must have a navy. No great Power can survive without a navy. No great island Power can survive without a large navy.

My building programme will not, of course, be directed against any particular village on the mainland. We menace no-one. Our paths are the paths of peace, but it would be asking too much of Providence to guard shores which we have too long neglected ourselves. Yet this island has been too long steeped in care-free happiness to realize its dangers. If I am to get a navy on a two-village standard I must achieve greatness for this people by the historic method.

LETTERS to the EDITOR

What Sort of Peace?

HERE are a few reflections on Michael de la Bedoyere's article (PN, Jan. 21).

1. By definition is not the alternative to a negotiated peace an imposed peace?

2. Can an imposed peace achieve real peace however "just" it may appear to the peacemakers? For is not justice among men, as Thrasymachus put it, the interest of the stronger?

3. Does Europe in fact need Justice, which is always the instrument of Power, defining the relationship of man to man and nation to nation only in terms of domination and submission?

4. Isn't the objection to a negotiated peace—which will be other than a phoney armistice—that neither side can or will face the implications of this war and the revolutionary demands which genuine peace-making involves?

5. If the insistence on a negotiated peace is in this sense unrealistic, isn't it better to face without equivocation the reasons for it, including our own absence of grace, rather than seek to hide our inadequacy under a pretentious call to justice which has no foundations in men's hearts?

6. And is not the conclusion of it all that there can be no peace in our time till we have achieved a new integrity and a new generosity, between nations, as between men; a lesson which we are so far from learning that we must face the prospect of continually renewed frustration, bitterness, and calamity? If our times are out of joint, it is because we are out of joint. Once admit that, there is then the possibility of a cure. But the blind cannot lead the blind; neither can the United Nations establish a Christian peace.

ROBERT CLIVE

Corsygedol, Dyffryn, Merioneth.

In view of the many claims on our very limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters under 250 words.

Craftsmanship and Mechanism

COMING from a family of pattern-makers, men who wrought in wood and women who made and embroidered fine fabrics, I have a concern for the shapely and finely finished piece of work in any material, but as I am a joiner the weight of a lifetime of woodworking gives me a preference for wood. Now although I am more at home in doing a job than in talking about it, I will try to set down the way the subject of "Craftsmanship and Mechanism" strikes me.

To begin with your contributor who made the wheels that were not round, I think he rather confuses the human values of two distinct working attitudes; that of the mechanic working to minute fractions, and that of the craftsman, who, while he can and does work to a drawing, permits individual judgment to creep into the processes he employs and stamps his workmanship with his own individuality.

I would suggest that our friend's wheel is nothing more and nothing less than a true circle, and that such can be cut by hand with a paring chisel. A wheel so made calls for no urgent measure of precision. One just follows the line.

It may be that occupational life with all its complexities just resolves itself into that. Each just follows the line; "the line" in the case of the craftsman being centred within himself and in following it he is developing his own individuality. He applies to the work in hand all those qualities of mind and body that are his natural heritage and his occupational life is a fulfilment.

The mechanized worker, conforming to the principle of precision, is governed by something outside himself, and even if he grasps the "aesthetic and purposive claim of precision," he suffers a loss of individuality.

Yes! we have produced "a slave class of mass labourers" who seek satisfaction without their occupational life in childish amusements and the few that reach mental enlargement by applying themselves to new materials and ways of working them make little impression on the life of the community.

Nature's plan throughout the ages has been to differentiate, to create diversity of type and organism, and the richness of life and of the universe itself emanates from this process. Mechanization leads inevitably to standardization, uniformity of taste and complete loss of qualitative judgment in the mass of mankind. We must, in some degree, return to Nature's roots if we would restore the balance of human endeavour and take the path that leads to a saner way of individual and collective life.

J. LESLIE SADLER

Clearly there are too many people producing food. I intend, as a statesman, to take most of them from the land and put them to clerical work. All the best professors of economics have proved that man can get a higher standard of living by giving up production and going to live in towns. The only home-grown food will be that needed to sustain the higher intelligences.

There need be no fear of any shortage of the higher intelligences. All the Great Powers are agreed that a man who works in an office is made of finer clay than men who work in fields. Thus all the agricultural workers transferred to offices will become of higher intelligence, and be able to secure a higher standard of living.

If we are ever to become really great we must, of course, have a Central Bank and a Stock Exchange. Once a town gets these two institutions it cannot help being prosperous. But once I get all my clerical workers dependent on their supplies from abroad I will get my navy. I have cut out several speeches delivered over the years showing the vital need to guard sea routes. Once any of these sea routes, or life lines, is menaced, it is tantamount to cutting an artery in the human body—you know the sort of thing.

I will, of course, get a balance of power with the three villages opposite. In the circumstances I cannot, of course, be friendly with all three of them, because if we were all friendly any two of them might combine to attack me. A working knowledge of diplomatic history should see us through. We will have wars, of course, but I hope we shall win the last battle. This will prove we are a peace-loving island. Of course, if I behaved like an ordinary citizen, I might avoid giving my island its "finest hour." But then, if I behaved like an ordinary citizen, I would not be a great statesman. This fair land, just about to become a first-rate Power, will be much happier when it has known blood and sweat and toil. So far it has only had the two latter. It has now taken a single ticket to a place called Destiny.

KRISHNAMURTI

"The world is an extension of yourself. If you as an individual desire to destroy hate, then you yourself must cease to hate. So long as you are caught up in these things you are part of the world of ignorance and fear. The world does not exist apart from the individual. His ignorance, his greed, his fear maintain the whole structure of ignorance, greed and hate. Lasting peace can be brought about only when the individual voluntarily and intelligently consents to think without hate, greed and fear."

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Inter-Area Meetings

FOLLOWING a successful Inter-Area Conference in London, the National Development Committee have felt that this was the kind of activity which Areas should attempt in various parts of the country. As a result of this encouragement, the London conference—for members of the London, Southern, South-Eastern, and Bucks., Berks., and Oxon. Areas—is to be repeated on Feb. 19 and 20, when the subject will be "The Social and Economic Implications of Pacifism."

Dr. Alex Wood has agreed to be chairman, and the conference will open on the Saturday afternoon at 3.30 in the Essex Hall (Small Hall), Essex St., off Strand. The speaker at this session will be an expert economist who will introduce the general subject and indicate the scope of the conference. After the session there will be light refreshments and an informal social until about 8 o'clock.

On the Sunday morning the conference will split up into groups which will meet at 8 Endsleigh Gdns., W.C.1, to discuss industry, agriculture, economic security and individual liberty, and the relation between local and central administration. These group discussions will be introduced by Jack Cowling, Leslie Smith, Ron. Smith, and Gordon Seagar, and a rapporteur will summarize the findings at the afternoon session, which will be held in the Small Holborn Hall, Grays Inn Rd., at 2.30, following a sandwich lunch. When the reports have been presented there will be a general discussion and summing up by Dr. Wood.

This conference is one of great importance to the movement; it is open to all members and it is hoped that every group will appoint at least one official delegate. Early allocation should be made for a place, enclosing the conference charge of 2s. 6d. (including light refreshments on the Saturday and sandwich lunch on the Sunday). There will be accommodation for 100 members at the conference: 50 places have been allocated to London Area; 20 to the S.-Eastern; 15 to the Southern; and 15 to Bucks., Berks., and Oxon. It is also hoped that two representatives from each of the other Areas in the country will be able to attend. Please send for tickets to the London Area Secretary, 8 Endsleigh Gdns., W.C.1, stating which two Sunday morning group meetings you would like to attend, in order of preference.

Another Inter-Area Conference has been arranged for May 6 and 7 at Heys Farm, near Clitheroe, for members of the Lakeland, N.-West, and Yorkshire Areas. The subject will be "The Future of the P.P.U." with Frank Dawtry as the principal speaker.

* * *

During the last month I have been advised of two new Contact Members at Alcester and Axminster. Their addresses are: Mr. T. Edwards, 23 Henley St., Alcester; and Mr. S. L. Hales, Westover, Musbury Rd., Axminster.

Albert E. Tomlinson

Child "Prisoners of War"

THAT children of the occupied countries are, in fact, prisoners of war, and that food should therefore be sent to them was the plea of the Help-the-Children Committee in USA made in full-page advertisements in a number of leading American papers. Readers were invited to sign a declaration that they "hoped to see help brought to the destitute, ill, and hospitalized children of Europe at the earliest possible moment."

Among the members of the Committee is Leopold Stokowski, and Albert Einstein wrote to give the Committee "whole-hearted approval."

Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, writing on this subject in the Herald-Tribune, says that at the UNRRA Conference a British delegate, asked why his Government has vetoed the proposals of the Belgian and French authorities, answered that "military strategy makes it inadvisable" to accept them. She adds that "a number of our own military strategists in Washington, who cannot be named, have given the feeding programme their approval."

In the House of Commons on Jan. 20, Mr. de la Bere asked what increased supplies of food were being sent to Greece as a result of the recent request of M. Exintaris for additional shipments of 4,000 tons monthly. Dr. Dingle Foot replied:

"It has been decided that shipments to Greece shall be increased by the allocation of approximately 900 tons a month of fish products, and it is expected that supplies will soon be available to bring the total figure of fish and other special protein foods to 1,600 tons a month, this being the amount requested by the Commission."

Harrison and Sons Ltd. have published a booklet, "Starvation in Greece" (1s.), proceeds to Greek Famine Relief, in which are reproduced such photographs as need few words to make plain their story. Perhaps nowhere else in Europe have there been quite such sights, but the booklet provides a grim warning of what may become all too common unless help—quick and adequate—is sent to other blockaded countries.

The International Labour Office has issued a report on "The Health of Children in Occupied Europe" (1s.), in which are quoted fully documented facts concerning the quantity and nutritive value of the foodstuffs available in the various occupied countries.

According to the introduction, "the child population of the totally occupied countries of Europe, whose vitality is being sapped by malnutrition... may be estimated to number some 40 million souls" below the age of 15.

Nothing less than immediate feeding on some such scale as that proposed by Dr. Kershner can prevent disaster from overtaking Europe sooner or later.

A WARNING ON POST-WAR HOPES

QUITE undeservedly, I recently found myself on one of those parlour Brains Trusts which have sprung up everywhere in imitation of the popular radio feature. How undeservedly may be judged from the fact that when the question was asked, "What does the Brains Trust consider the most hopeful sign of our times?" I felt obliged to say simply that I saw no hopeful sign at all. I was promptly reprimanded by a fellow member of the "trust" for giving "the most deplorable answer that has gone out from this Brains Trust."

That member was Stephen Hobhouse, and the incident is recalled to my mind by reading his "Open Letter to Peace Planners," published by the Peace Pledge Union (3d.). It may serve to assure the reader who is inclined to dismiss the pamphlet as the Jeremiad of a confirmed pessimist that the author is very far from that.

If I may return for a moment to my disgraceful exhibition of "brains," I would add that in the subsequent

discussion I was referred to precisely that sort of activity among young people which prompted Stephen Hobhouse to write his pamphlet: sincere and devoted activity "in thinking out or even drafting the outlines of a post-war world-settlement for stable peace." Let me, then, give his much better way of putting my own answer:

"Some of us feel that, admirable as are many of the provisions included in these drafts, the diagnosis of the existing world-situation is usually superficial, the depth and extent of the spiritual evil and of human deterioration is underrated..."

And, in another nutshell, his more positive suggestion of a way out of such a situation:

"History seems to indicate that the reorganization and redemption of society on really human, that is, on Christian lines will not in the future any more than in the past be best promoted from 'above,' but from 'below,' by groups of pioneers, the true 'Church,' not necessarily all Christian in dogma, but increasingly akin in their humane and religious outlook. We may expect them to be intermittently, sometimes savagely, persecuted: later on to be tolerated as valuable economic or cultural assets to the State. After a time these groups would, by permeation and example, come to have a very powerful effect for good on the autocratic materialists who are

WORDS OF PEACE—58

The Great Lesson

EARLY Christianity. One can imagine the immense attraction that so active a life of the heart exerted in the midst of a society without moral bonds, above all among the popular classes, who were neglected equally by the State and by religion. There is the great lesson to be drawn from this history for our century. The periods are similar. The future will belong to the party which will take the popular classes and elevate them. But, in our day, the difficulty is very much greater than it has ever been. In the ancient world, on the shores of the Mediterranean, material life could be very simple; the needs of the body were secondary and easily satisfied. With us, these needs are many and imperious; popular movements are attached to the earth by a weight of lead.

RENAN: St. Paul.

Interesting experiments by pacifists in social case work in Liverpool will be described by Michael Lee, of Pacifist Service Units, in the February Peace News pamphlet. Entitled "Pacifism on the Doorstep," it will be published on Feb. 10, and will cost 1d. If you are not already receiving these pamphlets, place a regular order with your PN distributor now.

likely to be ruling the world-State or States, leading them on to experiments in true democracy, i.e. a regime based on liberty and justice and a vigorous social conscience that is predominantly pacifist."

Just because he stands somewhere between the "confirmed pessimists" and those who "have more hope of a widespread movement of repentance and consequent spiritual recovery in the period following the end of the war," Stephen Hobhouse's "Letter" is worthy of careful consideration by all who—however remotely—aspire to be "peace planners." Some of these more hopeful spirits are, in fact, so described by him in the foreword and are included among the 16 pacifists—mostly very well known—who stand as "sponsors" of the pamphlet.

In its most recent pamphlet, "The Healing of Nations" (3d.), the Northern Friends' Peace Board pleads for the application of Christ's teaching of forgiveness, "without qualification or reservation" after the war. "It must be made clear," it says, "that in the interests of peace and for the sake of generations yet unborn we abjure all policies involving punishment, retribution, indemnities or discrimination, and we must declare our determination that none of the terrible deeds of the war shall influence our actions or determine our policies." And as a crucial and concrete application of this attitude it asks that the nation shall resist the temptation to improve its own supply of necessities and luxuries after the war, and be willing to share and share alike with all suffering peoples irrespective of the part they have played in the war.

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EDUCATIONAL and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3.

FOR SALE AND WANTED BURLS, Cycle Maker, F.I.Cyc.T., can still give excellent repair and sales service. Call 722b Old Kent Rd., London, S.E.15, or 'phone New Cross 4129.

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LAMB BRAND Typewriter Ribbons, cleanest, clearest, longest, 3s. 6d. postage paid; 10s. three; 18s. 6d. six. Name models, colours. Hardman and Sons, 15 Prospect Pl., Preston.

OUR 1944 Seed Catalogue now ready. Write for your copy. Rule, Seedsman, Newman St., Shirley, Southampton.

WANTED by C.O. Concise or Shorter Oxford Dictionary, good condition. Please state edition, date, and price. Box 287.

£2,250 FREEHOLD, midway Bridgewater-Taunton. Small modernized Somerset Farmhouse, 3 recep., 4 bed., bath, kitchen, dairy, scullery, C.H.W. Water supply by modern force pump to 140 gallons storage tanks. 2 small paddocks. Large prolific orchard. In all 2½ acres approx. Suitable market gardening, pig breeding, calf rearing. Double garage. Very good stone and tiled outbuildings. Rates £5 8s. p.a. Tithe redemption 16s. 2d. p.a. Box 290.

LAND AND COMMUNITY ESSENTIAL and constructive work. Women at Holton Beckering would welcome co-operation of others free to help in running farmhouses for young farmworkers with progressive purpose. Particulars from Community Farming Society, Holton Beckering, Wragby, Lincs.

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PACIFIST TENANT farmer requiring cash for purchase of additional livestock would be glad to hear from fellow pacifists willing to loan £15 upwards, good interest. Box 289.

VACANCY for man in market gardening community. Housekeeper also wanted. Gloucester Land Scheme, Hempstead, Gloucester.

LITERATURE, etc. ARE YOU interested in international war resistance? Groups are invited to write to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield, Middlesex, for specimen literature describing the International's activities. The W.R.I. can also supply speakers to address P.P.U. and other pacifist groups on its work.

CHRIST IS COMING. Paradise to be restored on earth. Read "God's Picture Book," 3d., from Secretary, Prophetic League, 21 Poplar Grove, New Malden, Surrey.

GIFT FOR C.O.s in prison. "How Green Was My Valley." Relatives write. Marshall, 21 Wheatlands Drive, Bradford, Yorks.

BOOKS LOANED to C.O.s on land, etc.; without obligation. Write for list Marshall as above.

HENRY MILLER, by Nicholas Moore. 40-page study of famous American writer, 1s. 1d. post free from Opus Press, Wood House, Wigminton, Tring, Herts.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

MEETINGS, etc. ADULT EDUCATION—An Essential of Democracy. An address by William Hazelton (Secretary to the Education Settlements Association), Feb. 8, at 1.20 p.m. at Friends' House, Euston Rd., N.W.1.

HAROLD J. LASKI on "Are we building for a Peace?" Kingsway Hall, W.C.2, Wed., Feb. 9, at 1.10 p.m. Admission free. National Peace Council.

LARGES. Prestwick, Universal Friendship League Holiday Hostels; facilities Reform Cooking; sea, sunbathing; forewords; culture; kindness, correspondence, meetings, 8, Sate., 6 Lansdowne Cres., Glasgow (both sexes—all ages). Particulars, stamped addressed envelope, Katharine MacDonald, Naturopathic Psychologist.

MIDLAND Pacifist Fellowship: Selly Oak Friends' Meeting House, Feb. 6, at 3 p.m., "Present Land Conditions and Post-war Reconstruction."

"SOUTH HARROW faces the Peace." Talk by Robert King (Chairman, London Area), Co-op Hall, S. Harrow—opposite station. Buses 114, 140, 158. 7.45 p.m., Wed., Feb. 9.

WORLD Organization—Federal or Functional. Round Table Conference at City Literary Institute, Drury Lane, W.C.2, Sat., Feb. 5, 2.30 p.m. Participants: George Catlin, Ph.D., Patrick Ransom, M.A., Edward Hambro, Ph.D., C. B. Purdom, and James Avery Joyce, B.Sc. (Econ.). Discussion organized by International Forum, Federal Union, World Unity, and British-American Council. Admission free.

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"THE MASQUE THEATRE" requires actors able to work alternate days. Details from Geoffrey Palmer, The Studio, 38 Abbey Rd., N.W.8.

WANTED, FULL-TIME organizer Yorks Area. £4 per week and expenses. Apply G. Tattersall, 19 John William St., Huddersfield.

WANTED, YOUNG man or woman take charge small dairy herd under supervision owner. Comfortable home, quiet district. Tobey, Chivelstone, Kingsbridge, Devon.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED ACCOUNTANT, ex-gael C.O., prepares all forms of accounts, audits, income tax returns etc. Box 287.

C.O. WANTS work, estate carpenter, skilled craftsman, young, energetic. Eden, Martin's Nest, Chandler's Cross, Herts.

C.O., 25, SINGLE, Methodist, seeks position on mixed farm to gain further experience, 4 years present dairy farm. Hull, Beverley districts preferred. Box 288.

GROUPS please give information of land work in your district to Slama, 8 S. Parade, Sutton Coldfield. Postage refunded.

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HENRY HILDITCH'S Appeal to Electors

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

immediate nationalization of all banking and credit, transport, and the mines.
Nationalization of the mines is long overdue. Private ownership has failed to secure the coal, failed to give reasonable working and living conditions to the miner.

I believe that the risk of life and limb, and the ill-health of the worker would be considerably reduced if the profit-motive were abolished.
BETTER HOUSING, EDUCATION, SOCIAL SECURITY

I stand for a housing policy which will guarantee to the people homes in which they can live a full life, and an educational policy which will train children to follow a vocation rather than condition them to be hands to the industrial machine.

I stand for the immediate implementing of the Beveridge Report as a first step in the adequate guarantees there must be against sickness, unemployment, and old age until Socialism can be widely introduced. Only the adoption of a full Socialist policy can provide full guarantees with justice for all.

SPECIAL APPEAL TO CHRISTIANS

If you are a Christian, I make a special appeal for your consideration.

Has it not been sufficiently demonstrated that good cannot be obtained by evil means? To what end is the breaking of our homes and family life? To what end the starvation of our allies and friends; the destruction of the lives and homes of women and children of this and other lands?

You have a pride in your home and family; a pride which, I believe, is, or was, shared by hundreds of thousands whose homes and lives have been destroyed in Coventry and Hamburg, Turin and Stalingrad; shared by hundreds of thousands whose children have died of starvation in occupied Europe and in occupied India. Is it nothing to us?

There is surely for us a higher loyalty than that of a State mobilized for total war. Only by following that higher loyalty, fearlessly, wherever it may lead, can peace be secured.

Finally, this is your opportunity to make history.

If the electors of Kirkcaldy Burghs make it plain to the country that they are anxious to have the war ended by negotiation and a constructive peace now, they will not only strike a decisive blow against dictatorships, but give a message of hope to those who believe in social democracy and a better ordering of society, and those who believe that for some higher purpose than to be conscripted, regimented and directed are we born into this world.

I ask you to register your vote at the poll, to express your desire to bring the war to an end by negotiation, and to raise your voice for a new social order.

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

established democracies are not immune from it. There was a strong personalist tinge in the 1931 American attitude to Roosevelt; there was in the 1940 British attitude to Churchill.

Fair Question

IS group-meditation still in fashion?

If so, I commend as a theme for its exercise the following extract from an article in The Economist (Jan. 29) on the recent report of the Cotton Board. It begins by quoting the report:

"The principle to govern the level of prices . . . should be that of securing a reasonable rate of return in the long run to an efficient firm as determined by an investigation of the average results of a representative group of efficient concerns."

This is almost meaningless, says The Economist severely, and goes on:

"What is reasonable? What is representative? What is efficient? What, indeed, is cost? There is, indeed, one economic test of a fair price. The fair price is that which, in conditions of competition, will in the long run bring forth exactly the amount that is demanded at that price, neither more nor less."

When the meditation is concluded, you may satisfy yourselves of its adequacy and fruitfulness by answering the question: What is the fair price for this paragraph? Correct answers will be rewarded by an autographed copy of my forthcoming brochure: "Non-violence in Community."

Fifth Freedom

PACIFISTS and democrats alike, writes A.B., should reflect on this:

"Men will go into the Army and risk death when commanded to do so; they will drop phosphorus bombs when commanded to do so; but they will not wear trousers without turn-ups when commanded to do so. What is the moral?"

The answer, I think, can be extracted from the announcement by Messrs. Austin Reed (Daily Mail, Jan. 30).

"The right of men to wear clothes with the usual quota of pockets, with double-breasted coats, and with the trousers turned up, has been restored. Here is a taste of the freedom for which we are fighting."

Postscript

I TRIED to look up the account of my Lord Protector's departure from Whitehall in my copy of Whitelocke. I stumbled on this instead.

"Jan. 1654. The Quaker being examined by a committee why he drew his sword, and hurt divers at the parliament door, answered, that he was inspired by the Holy Spirit to kill every man that sat in the house. The house debated the point of liberty of conscience upon the new government, and agreed to give it to all who shall not maintain atheism, popery, prelacy, profaneness, or any damnable heresy, to be enumerated by the parliament."

"Peace Now" Campaign in U.S.A.

"UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER NOT WORTH HEAVY LOSS OF LIFE"

ARGUING that "unconditional surrender is not worth a heavy loss of life" (according to the D. Mail, Jan. 25), an organization called Peace Now has opened a campaign in USA to bring about a negotiated peace.

It intends to set up local organizations in every State in the Union.

The D. Express quotes the New York Post of Jan. 24 as saying that part of the campaign will be "to support any Republican, except Willkie, or to form a separate peace party," and "to circulate thousands of pamphlets and handbills, demanding peace now." The organizers are said to be "former 'America Firsters' in consultation with Isolationist Congressmen."

AGAINST SECOND FRONT

"I believe in saying frankly what one believes to be right," said the Rev. J. C. S. Chamberlain, Vicar of Christ Church, Shooters Hill, London, when interviewed about his plea to parisoners "to join with him in praying that the Second Front, with the mass-slaughter he believes inevitable, can be averted."

The D. Mirror, Jan. 20, reported him as saying: "I cannot help feeling perturbed at the prospect of revolutionary Russia running a revolutionary Germany and possibly a revolutionary France after this war."

In his parish magazine (according to the Mirror) he declares that there is "growing up hostility towards those who do the work" of bombing Germany.

When Rhys Davies asked, in the House on Jan. 26, if the Government would not "take the lead to prevent this indiscriminate bombing on both sides," Mr. Attlee replied (somewhat ambiguously): "I do not admit the charge of indiscriminate bombing. I suggest that my hon. Friend might turn his attention to those who began it."

America's "A.T.S." Appeal is a Flop

Recruitment for the women's services in USA, says Time (Dec. 27), has been a "dismal flop." The Women's Auxiliary Corps aimed at enrolling 150,000 in 1943. The total present strength is 60,000.

The official explanation is the country's dangerous conviction that the war is already won. Time says that the whole idea is generally unpopular among men "except among soldiers who have been in action"; and that the women themselves are increasingly reluctant to give up their careers. The head of the WAC says there are almost a half-million jobs in the army which women could fill. But there has never been a volunteer army of men of that size in USA. Conscription is the only remedy, as in Britain.

But President Roosevelt's proposal of National Service has been turned down.

Man's Fundamental Need

TO argue that industrialism has destroyed "spiritual values" (as Wilfred Wellock has put it in Peace News) is to state the central problem of today but to confuse it with a purely coincidental development. The destruction of values—or, more properly, the failure of men to struggle to express them in their living—proceeds largely from the decay of belief in the religion that has helped to guide the development of European civilization for 1,600 years.

This, in turn, is not primarily due to the machine or the particular temptations of the machine age: it is because an increasing number of people have found it intellectually impossible to accept the very basis of that traditional religion. Consequently society is not permeated by convictions of a kind and to a degree adequate to control its mighty sources of the power-to-produce.

Until men are able to develop a view of the universe and of themselves which contains room for their knowledge about their environment, as well as the power to generate ideals and purposes within themselves to which that knowledge can be applied, they will become increasingly disintegrated, individually and socially.

Pacifists will only make confusion worse confounded if they proffer advice that does not recognize this fundamental need. And even when

Anglo - German Plans for the Future

VALUABLE information — on which both countries rely in order to compile guides that are indispensable for the safety of their mariners—passes without interruption between official bodies in Nazi Germany and in this country.

The information (on which Sir Harold Spencer Jones, the Astronomer Royal, is working here for the Nautical Almanac for 1946 and 1947) is calculated independently not only by British and German but also by American and Spanish astronomers, and is then exchanged in accordance with an agreement between them to compile their nautical almanacs from the same basic material. Opposing belligerents communicate through Stockholm.

The E. Standard (Jan. 27), which publishes these facts, recalls that such data were also supplied uninterruptedly during the last war.

Man Above Nations, God Above Man

Why I am a Jew. By Edmond Fleg. Victor Gollancz, 2s. 6d.

This "proud and humble little book," now fluently translated by its publisher, was written in 1927 by a French Jew, poet and dramatist and author of a "Life of Jesus." The translator regards it as "the noblest exposition of Judaism and Jewishness."

The author tells how he once sought to shake off and forget his ancestry. But "Israel lost" became "Israel found again" amid the anti-semitic outbursts accompanying the trial of Dreyfus in 1894, and in the inspiration of the Zionist movement; and it became "Israel everlasting" through long study of the sacred literature of the race.

Fleg is frank as to his people's faults, though the riddle of the violence of anti-semitism he does not solve. And he claims that in most Jews "pity for the humiliated has become natural" and "the very notion of killing has been atrophied."

"I am a Jew because, above the nations and Israel, Israel places Man and his Unity. I am a Jew because, above Man, image of the divine Unity, she places the divine Unity and its divinity." S.H.

The total of the National Debt at Mar. 31, 1938, was £8,026 millions, and the approximate total at Dec. 31, 1943, was £19,237 millions, "of which £4,948 millions consisted of floating debt," said the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Commons, Jan. 18.

—but "Intelligence" PROVES Germans are Devils

A ST. LOUIS correspondent of Time named Richard M. Weiss reports (Dec. 27, 1943) that "a friend of mine who is a spy" (that is, an intelligence agent) has just returned from Europe and states that "throughout the continent an amazing phenomenon has been observed." The following report is in his own words:

The Germans are growing horns. The condition was originally noticed last July among some of the older people in Silesia. . . . Recently children have been born with horns well over an inch long, located immediately above the ears. Every attempt has been made to correct the abnormality by surgical operation and medical treatment, but such activities have only served to stimulate the growths.

My friend stated that . . . he heard an unverified rumour that several babies had been born in Mannheim with short tails. . . . He would not vouch for the complete accuracy of such statements, though he did comment . . . that Germans had taken to wearing their pants over-large and baggy. . . .

My friend states that he intends to remain in the US for several months and then go to England, for he has heard that a set of twins were born in Sussex with wings. He is awaiting news of a similar event in the US.

WILL C.O.s BE REINSTATED ?

MEN and women in the Forces and in certain classes of Civil Defence are to have their pre-war jobs safeguarded by the Reinstatement in Civil Employment Bill now before Parliament. Will conscientious objectors who, "by order of the competent tribunal," have also been removed from their jobs have any comparable safeguard?

The answer may depend upon the efforts of the Central Board for COs, which is now endeavouring to cover their position.

"JOHN HAMPDEN" TO APPEAL

When George P. Elphick, the Lewes Fellowship of Reconciliation secretary who has consistently refused to do fire-guard duties, was fined £10 at his eighth prosecution on Jan. 25, he refused to pay, was sentenced to two months' imprisonment, and then gave notice that he desired to appeal to Quarter Sessions. He was accordingly released on bail.

Prosecuting counsel described the case as "one of bald refusal to comply with the law," and said that such a person must not be allowed to escape his obligations in case waverers were tempted to follow suit. On Elphick's behalf, Mr. D. G. A. Lowe recalled that he had been called a "rocket John Hampden" and reminded the Bench that, though condemned at the time, Hampden's stand had subsequently been held to be a heroic attempt to improve the government of the country.

AID THE SHIPWRECKED

"Five 'conchie' may be the means of saving the lives of hundreds of shipwrecked seamen," reported the D. Express, Jan. 28.

"For weeks they have been experimenting in keeping alive on a raft off Cape Cod, Massachusetts, on a newly devised ration of ten butterscotch caramels and a pint of water. This ration . . . has now been recommended for general adoption."

When in doubt, consult:

QUESTIONS TO C.O.s

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PRISON ROUTINE (4d.; by post 5d.)

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John W. Cowling